No. 195 .

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ARTMENT OF

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No.

Chief Minister
and
Chief Justice. (P.M)

Dated

To whom sent		Date	Initial
	Given for copying		
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	Signed		
When returned	Given for despatch		
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Secret & Confidential.

September 21, 1953.

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I have been hesitating for a long time to write this confidential and secret letter to you: because it was my earnest hope that certain matters which affect deeply the public life of this State would set themselves right, thus saving all concerned the trouble that will ensue if they did not. Regrettably, incidents have not ceased to multiply and as your representative and Constitutional Head of the State of Mysore, I am compelled to place the following facts for your perusal and consideration. It is with the deepest regret that I do so, because I feel I can no longer try to keep from you the very trying and irksome position in which I find myself.

Mysore has had, and continued to have, until very recently, the reputation of being a Model State. Going back to the days when the British returned the State to its lawful rulers in 1881, an attempt has been continually made to associate the peoples' wishes with the Government of the country which resulted in the establish--ment of the Representative Assembly as early as 1881. From then onwards, until my own time, the system of associating popular representation has gone on, culminating in the grant of full responsible Government in October 1947 - with Sri K.C.Reddy as

Chief Minister and eight others as Ministers. It was good fortune to have been so ably assisted by Sri Reddy and his colleagues during the four-and-half years of their office in the discharge of my duties. I have never done, at any time of my association with Sri Reddy, anything unconstitutional and unfair. We got on well. We held and kept no secrets. I gave all of my experience to help them and it was greatly appreciated and gratefully acknowledged. There was no personal rancour. Such was the harmony and goodwill that had developed here. I have referred to this point because my story starts with the advent of Mr. K. Hanumanthaiya and his colleagues into power in Mysore in March 1952. Everything went on as usual for the first few weeks. But towards the close of June-July, a series of events began to take place, on the political as also on the personal plane, that has led gradually to the development of bitter and acrimonious bickerings in the public life of the State. It was from July 1952 that my relations with the Chief Minister began to get strained.

Public affairs in Mysore having been exercising a good deal of agitation in the minds of the people of this State, and in order to keep you fully aware of happenings here, I am writing this letter. I consider it my duty as Constitutional Head of the State to keep you completely informed of events as they have been happening in Mysore. The only consideration which has restrained me till now is

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that I should not be in a hurry to judge the administration carried on by the Ministry put in office by the Party which has secured a considerable majority at the General Elections. Seventeen months have passed and the manner in which the affairs of the State are being managed has caused much unhappiness to me as one who dearly loves his people and the State of Mysore.

Mysore has had a record of good administration securing for her the name of Model State, which is a matter of pride to everyone here. The tradition of my revered ancestors and the wisdom of the Statesmen who were appointed by them to administer the affairs of the State have contributed in large measure to secure the well-being of the people of the State through many generations. The foundation of Government based on the will of the people was laid in 1881 when my illustrious grand-father of revered memory established the Representative Assembly where public opinion was effectively exercised upon the administration of the State. When Responsible Government was established in 1947, my rejoicing was as great as that of the people who had secured it.

Sri K. Chengalaraya Reddy who formed the first Ministry upon the advent of Responsible Government together with the other Members of the Council of Ministers maintained relations with me as the Head of the State which were at once cordial and dignified. The memory of those relations adds to my present unhappiness. It is

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my sad and painful duty to inform you that the present Chief Minister Sri K. Hanumanthaiya has, by his conduct and bearing, put an end to the cordial and dignified relations which should subsist between the Ministry and the Constitutional Head of the State. I shall advert later to particular instances both of conduct and of bearing illustrative of his general attitude in such matters. Before I do so, I ought to acquaint you with my impressions of the general effect of Sri K. Hanumanthaiya's administration upon the institutions which are indispensable to good Government.

It is now doubtful whether the Congress Party of which Sri Hanumanthaiya was elected leader in March 1952 still extends the same measure of support to his leadership. Opinion within the Party itself seems to be so sharply divided upon many important matters of policy and administration that a considerable section of the Party has been severely critical of the administration in both Houses of Legislature. It would appear that there is a serious and growing rift within the Party which is bound to weaken the administration and impair its quality. I have no doubt that you have been apprised of events and happenings in a political context by the spokesmen of the Party Organization from time to time. I shall therefore content myself with merely referring to them and pass on to other matters which seem to be no less important than the political situation.

During

During the Budget Session of the Legislature in March-April 53, the Speaker of the Legislative Assembly referred to me for decision the question raised on the floor of the House as to whether Sri T. Siddalingaiya who resigned from the Council of Ministers in February 1953, had become subject to the disqualification by reason of certain facts alleged against him in the matter of a c contract for the transport of copper wire. This question was examined by the Election Commission whom I consulted as required by the Constitution. In accordance with the opinion furnished by the Election Commission I decided that Sri T. Siddalingaiya had not become subject to disqualification. This decision was duly conveyed to the Speaker of the Legislative Assembly by me and announced by him on the floor of the House. The observations made by the Election Commission, however, in the course of the opinion furnished to me reveal serious and alarming deviations from established and accepted standards of administrative practice. A perusal of even the meagre evidence upon which the opinion of the Election Commission is based will enable you to understand the deep concern with which I write on this matter. There have been other and more recent instances of unjustifiable departure from well--established administrative standards. While I do not wish to weary you with details I have to say that public confidence in the personal rectitude of the Ministers and high-placed officers of the permanent

permanent services is bound to be undermined by such deviations. Besides undermining public confidence, such deviations at the instance of Ministers will necessarily demoralise the permanent services whose task it is to carry on the administration in an impersonal and objective manner.

The proceedings of the three Sessions of the Legislature have disclosed to the general public that many important legislative proposals sponsored by the Government have not been successfully piloted through both Houses of the Legislature by the concerned Ministers. Bills to amend existing legislation hastily drafted without adequate consideration have been delayed or even abandoned altogether. Answers given to questions on the floor of the Legislature have been quite often at variance with actual facts and in some instances contradictory and inconsistent. The grant of fifty acres of land to the younger brother of the Chief Minister was sharply criticised in the Legislative Assembly. Questions seeking to elicit information about the antecedents of this person who has been in Government service as an Agricultural Inspector and placed under suspension pending investigation of charges of defalcation of Government moneys have been answered differently on different occasions on the floor of the legislature by the Ministers. This particular grant of land marks a departure from the tradition of administration in Mysore from the date of the Rendition of the State

State by the British Government to my revered ancestor.

The relations of the Ministry with the Judiciary appear to be strained. The Law Minister seems to have entertained a petition containing grave charges of corruption and misconduct against a Magistrate before whom certain persons were being prosecuted for alleged arson and criminal tresspass at the instance of the Chief Minister's younger brother. These charges were investigated by a High Court Judge and found to be baseless. The High Court has had to institute proceedings for contempt against the signatories to that petition since the Government did not prosecute them according to law as suggested by the High Court. The handing over of the /position of the lands, which appear to have been in possession of poor cultivators, to the Chief Minister's younger brother in May 1952 appears to be the starting point of all these happenings. Another instance is that of the Minister for Public Health and Excise who had ordered the construction of two roads and a bridge near his house and lands in his native town which resulted in a petition being filed before the High Court for the issue of an appropriate writ quashing the order. While this petition was still pending before the High Court, the Minister seems to have called upon the Chief Justice and attempted a persona explanation of the matter with a view to convince him of his innocence. The Chief Minister himself in the course of his speech replying

replying to the debate on the Appropriation Bill in the Legislative Council in March 1953, is reported to have expressed himself somewhat freely regarding the position of High Court Judges and Supreme Court Judges and the Supremacy of the Legislature and Parliament over the Judiciary under the Constitution.

I must now mention the Chief Minister's relations with me a Rajpramukh. I do so with great reluctance and after much anxious thought. The Dasara Festivities are celebrated in Mysore from the time of my revered ancestors and the celebrations are marked by popular enthusiasm and rejoicing. It is the custom to hold a Durbar every evening in the Palace for ten successive days when distinguished citizens are invited to be present on the occasion. Last year the Chief Minister insisted upon providing chairs to all the invitees in the Durbar Hall, although the Sardars preferred to conform to ancient usage. This year the Chief Minister wants that the Sardars and other members of the Ursu families should not be invited to the Durbar at all. The Chief Minister has also attempted to interfere in the administration of the internal affairs of the Palace. He has spoken offensively to me of members of the Palace Staff and levelled charges against them without any justi-fication whatever.

The Chief Minister's personal conduct and bearing towards me are devoid of the cordiality and dignity which have always characterised

characterised the relations of his predecessors-in-office with me. He has a habit of being unpleasant and offensive in speech and rude in manners during his interviews with me. He has thought fit to use language and expressions which I have never been accustomed to hear used in my presence before. Unwarranted references to the ladies of my family have been made by him during his interview with me. Letters have been addressed by him to my Sisters asking them to show cause why their allowances should not be stopped. He has been officious enough to tell me that being a Republic every mark of distinction and prestige really belongs to him as the elected representative of the people and that it is by mere sufferance on his part that any consideration is still being shown to me and the members of my family. He has not honoured the Agreement between the Government of India and the Mysore Government concerning my personal property and has gone to the length of threatening me that he would scrap this Agreement viz., the Agreement of Feb.1951 signed by V.P.Menon.

In the month of July this year when I stayed in Bangalore for three weeks, the Chief Minister sought an interview with me one evening. Before the hour fixed for the interview I had been out playing tennis; on my return I went in for a change, and I hurried back to receive him at the appointed time. He had arrived by then and on learning that I was getting ready to meet him, complained

complained that I was unmindful of what was due to him as Chief Minister and left abruptly even as I was coming down the steps into the drawing-room. This was followed by an unpleasant letter complaining of the treatment which he had received from my Staff. When he met me again after I replied to his letter explaining how he was mistaken, he said, 'Oh! please forget it'.

During May-June this year I had been camping at Bandipur where we have maintained a Wild Life Sanctuary. It is my habit to spend some time every year at this place and forget my cares in the solitude of the forest. I understood that the Chief Minister wished to stay in Bandipur. Since I was there at the time I invited him, to come and stay with me. He had been holidaying in Ooty with his friends and wanted to bring them. I sent a reply saying that he and his friends might come and stay as my guests at the camp, in the belief that these friends were probably members of the Legislature some of whom accompany him usually on all his tours. When the Chief Minister arrived, he brought with him as his friends Mr. Karanjia, Editor of the Blitz, and his wife, their child and an ayah! Brigadier Dhillon and Mrs. Dhillon were also with him. Had I known the Karanjias, who were utter strangers to me, were also accompanying him I would never have placed myself in such an unenviable position of being the Chief Minister's host. Etiquette demands that I should not complain about those who were my guests, but I will merely pass over this phase by saying that it would have

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been hardly more unpleasant.

Upon my return from my recent South Indian tour the Chief Minister sought an interview with me at Bangalore on the 10th instant. During this interview he made references to the latest political developments in the Party of which I had no knowledge and accused me of having a sinister design in connection with these party developments.

The Chief Minister began the conversation by saying that Mr. Veeranna Gowda withdrew all the allegations made against him and his ministry. But I learn that it is not true. He also said he commanded absolute majority in the Legislative Assembly, his position was unshakable and he commanded popular support and respect.

He further added, " there is a strong rumour current in Bangalore that Your Highness is backing up and supporting the dissenting elements of the Congress Party in the State; that Your Highness is financially supporting the dissidents and was responsible for sending the group of Congress people (the M.P.C.C. President and others) to Delhi, that large amounts of money were spent by Your Highness to keep up the opposition to the present Ministry in office."

He further alleged that as Rajpramukh I was divulging all State secrets to the dissident group in the Congress, that I was not supporting the Government in power as I should constitutionally

do

do, but encouraging the opposite faction within the Congress Party, that I was dominated and influenced by Mr. S. Chennaiah who was in the Chief Minister's opinion an undesirable character, as well as Messrs Dasappa and Medappa, who were being frequently granted interviews and consulted were all to the distaste of the Chief Minister, as they were all prejudiced against him. He also said that I should notify Government, of the people I see, so that nobody could be interviewed without Government knowledge. He emphasised that this was the rumour strongly current in Bangalore and several members had repeated it to him.

I replied by saying that I was painfully surprised and shocked (to put it very mildly) at the very rash and unfounded statements made by the Chief Minister. I denied all the allegations made, because I was perfectly confident I had done nothing wrong or unconstitutional. I have made it my principle to be severely aloof from politics and political parties; therefore it was all the more shocking to be accused of taking sides in the internal strife of the Congress Party, and graver still, to be accused of financing the opposition within the Party. Surely I said that this was a very serious charge and I could not allow my name to be besmirched like this, especially when the allegations made were based on purely rumour and hearsay. I told the Chief Minister I deny the whole affair and reminded him of my policy to support whichever Ministry

Ministry was in power in the interests of Mysore. Mysore is paramount everything else being subordinate. I told him I cannot make things clearer than this. As for the interviews to various people, I said it was my right to see and meet any one I wished and no one could interfere with that. The Chief Minister said he did not dispute the point, but that I should avoid undesirable people. I told him that it was for me to select persons to whom I could grant interview. Being neutral I could not refuse to see persons belonging to different sections who wished to see me. That should not be construed, as the Chief Minister tried to construe it, as an attempt to disregard the Ministry. My contact with all would, (in the long run) be of help to the Ministry. It was up to them to make use of my information and knowledge of various men and matters. If they did not do so, I for one, would not volunteer the information. I said, a great deal could be done by genuine display of mutual regard and esteem. Therefore I again repeated that I could not accept any limitation on my personal liberty and right in seeing and discussing matters with anyone I wished. I told the Chief Minister that my relations with the people I saw and my conduct as a whole was above reproach and greatly resented this insinuation which was nothing but an ill-founded attempt to blapheme my character and integrity.

I am of the impression that the Chief Minister is bent on doing everything in his power to embarass me and give a series of

pin-pricks

pin-pricks through invidious and the crafty use of alleged rumours and hearsays of un-named M.L.As and others convenient for him to make use of. I record this, because the Chief Minister told me that I should correct my conduct and behave better. If I did not do so, consequances would be fatal and disastrous. As I told him, my reply was, I have done my best to be helpful and useful. More than this I cannot do, nor am I prepared to humiliate myself into the position of being the Chief Minister's henchman in politics. I have always believed that the position of a Rajpramukh is to be neutral, to take no sides, to be loved by all, to be consulted by all for advice and guidance. He should be the custodian of the State's best interests in the long run. As Sir William Anson puts it (here, speaking of the British Sovereign): " Such a personage cannot be treated as a mere instrument; it is evident that on all matters of State - - - - - he receives full information and is able to express, if not enforce, an opinion. And this opinion in the course of a long reign may become a thing of the great weight and value. It is impossible to be constantly consulted and concerned for years together in matters of great moment without acquiring experience, if not wisdom." It is such a useful role that a Head of the State should play.

My position as Rajpramukh of Mysore State has been always to follow proper procedure and do the correct thing. Now that is

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made very difficult by the Chief Minister. There are but few communications from the Ministry to me on matters of State. I am not kept informed in due course of important Governmental affairs. Even the Rajpramukh's assent to the Legislative measures passed by both Houses of Legislature is sought more as a necessary evil and a personal favour unlike the previous Ministry, who did so to seek the advice of a friend and impartial judge. In these circumstances I look to you for advice and guidance as to what you would have me do in this critical and delicate situation, to free myself from personal embarrassment in functioning as the Constitutional Head of Mysore State during the Chif Ministership of Sri K. Hanumanthaiya. I have always received much kindness and affection from you and therefore I have opened my heart to you out of conviction that you will advise me on what is to be done to ensure good Government in the State.

Last, but not least, I must beg of you to treat this letter as most confidential for the reason that if any knowledge of it should be known to the Chief Minister, he is sure to make my position, already awkward and troublesome as it is, into something intolerable and impossible. So I have made this special request

request and trust that you will understand my feelings in the matter.

With kindest regards,

I have the honour to subscribe myself

The Hon'ble
Shri Jawaharlal Nehru
Prime Minister & Minister for External Affairs,
Government of India,
Prime Minister's House,
New Delhi.